

Chupim and Chopin, effeminate and sick: music and gender in the first half of the twentieth century in Brazil¹

Jorge Vergara²

Abstract: The argument of this article is structured as follows: The recognition of some artists perceived as effeminate and of others as homosexuals coexisted with the reproduction of prejudices in medical and literary discourse. Women are a numerical majority in musical education institutions, and in parallel, medical and literary discourse reproduces the belief in female inferiority. From the text of a conference on Chopin, I analyze three topics of the doctor and writer Aloysio de Castro by contrasting them with the ideas of four homosexuality specialists and some ideas of musicologist Mário de Andrade. The primary sources are from the first half of the twentieth century, and my appreciations have references in the review of the literature on racism, gender, and music.

Keywords: Homosexuality. Prejudice. Medicine. Feminism. Musicology.

Chupim y Chopin, afeminados y enfermos: música y género en la primera mitad del siglo veinte en Brasil

Resumen: La argumentación de este artículo se estructura en la siguiente forma: el reconocimiento de algunos artistas percibidos como afeminados y de otros como homosexuales coexistió con la reproducción de prejuicios en el discurso médico y literario. Y las mujeres son mayoría numérica en instituciones de enseñanza musical, y en paralelo, el discurso médico y literario reproduce la creencia en la inferioridad femenina. A partir del texto de una conferencia sobre Chopin, analizo tres temas del médico y escritor Aloysio de Castro mediante su contraste con las ideas de cuatro especialistas en homosexualidad y algunas ideas del musicólogo Mário de Andrade. Las fuentes primarias son de la primera mitad del siglo veinte, y mis apreciaciones tienen referencias en mi revisión de la literatura sobre racismo, género y música.

Palabras clave: Homosexualidad. Prejuicio. Medicina. Feminismo. Musicología.

1 Originally published: Vergara, J. I. O. (2019). Chupim y Chopin, afeminados y enfermos: música y género en la primera mitad del siglo veinte en Brasil. *Revista Música*, 19(2), 86-115.
<https://doi.org/10.11606/rm.v19i2.163874>

2 Jorge Israel Ortiz Vergara. No institutional link.
jorgevergara1977@gmail.com
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0699-6518>
Bachelor in Piano (2005), Master in Interpretive Practices (2013) and Doctor in Music (2018) in the Graduate Program in Music at Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Unirio.

Introduction

This article addresses discourses on music and gender in Brazil. My argument is structured as follows: In the reviewed literature, the recognition of some artists perceived as effeminate and others as openly homosexual coexisted with the reproduction of prejudices in the scientific field and aesthetic discussions. Recognized music teaching institutions of the European tradition in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro were attended mostly by women, and in parallel, the medical and literary discourse reproduced the belief in female inferiority. Based on the text of a conference on Chopin, I analyze Aloysio de Castro's three themes by contrasting them with the ideas of four specialists in homosexuality and with some ideas from Mário de Andrade. The figure of the fragile man next to the virile woman has been recorded in three authors in different contexts, and Castro uses it to describe Chopin and praise the female interpretation. The primary sources are from the first half of the twentieth century, and my insights are referenced in reviewing the literature on racism, gender, and music.

Aloysio de Castro was member of the Brazilian Conservatory of Music, entered the National Academy of Medicine in 1904, the Brazilian Academy of Letters in 1917, was general director of the National Department of Education between 1927 and 1932, and was president of the Society of Neurology, Psychiatry, and Legal Medicine. He participated in the International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation of the Council of the League of Nations between 1922 and 1930, along with Henri Bergson, Marie Curie, and Albert Einstein (and eight others), such was the extent of his prestige (HILTON, 1948, p.60). His works include poetry, essays, scientific works, and pieces for voice and piano.

In the book *The sentimental expression in Chopin's music*³ Castro elaborated on gender and art with a discourse that connects science, literature and music. The writer explains that he did not prepare an aesthetic commentary on the composer Fryderyk Chopin, but a "rapid psychological and literary appreciation" (CASTRO, 1927, p. 2). He used specific aspects of aesthetic discourse and when he praises the skills of the pianist Antonietta Rudge, he shows mastery over the technical language of the piano

3 The translations are mine. To facilitate reading, titles of books and articles are cited in English, and in the bibliography in Portuguese. Names of authors, magazines, and newspapers are cited in Portuguese.

(CASTRO, 1927, p. 25). He cited a few doctors and psychiatrists to validate his ideas; he mentioned writers, poets, composers, and friends of Chopin, but medical concepts were key in his text. In this paper, I will comment on three themes: 1) music is equivalent to truth, and music expresses the artist's truth; 2) the composer's body is the cause of aesthetic forms. Art is an expression of the body's experience, and the body of the genius is a sick body; and 3) in relation to Chopin's work, women are better performers than men (CASTRO, 1927, p. 18-19).

Aloysio de Castro values the relationship between music and truth. The music would be fabulous, immaterial, evident, "you don't lie with music" (1927, p. 18). In a variation of the formula and through the metaphor of music as speech, Castro wrote that it is necessary to underline in the phrases "the infinite variations of rhythm and sonority" because only in this way can music achieve its "prodigious suggestive power, evoking human feelings and the mysterious soul of things" (1927, p. 19). Music would have these powers and the author offered no other variations. The arguments that bring music closer to the truth, and the theme that music reveals the truth of the world, the body, and the soul, recall the aesthetic theories of romanticism (by Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Schlegel, Wilhelm Wackenroder, and others). In them, music is attributed greater importance than other arts due to its ability to express the deepest and most wonderful things (GAVILÁN, 2008, p. 15, 17). Castro commented on the composer's sadness and artistic capacity, but he related the music to romanticism in two other ways: through the figure of the sick body, and through the description of the typical clothing of the romantic author; he registers the large necks, wide vests, long ties, silk breeches and overcoat (1927, p. 7-8); and the doctor implies that quality music approximates femininity, and that women are better at playing Chopin than men. I will present the details later. One might think that the superior veracity of the music, its reduction to the delicate and loving, and the sick body of the masculine genius are rhetorical components; that is, these themes serve to exalt the author more than to explain, so the reader should accept a dose of exaggeration and distortion in expressions. To understand the associations and operations of Castro's text, it is pertinent to comment on some medical ideas. In medical texts, the relationships between art and feeling, and between art and homosexuality, were frequently stated. There are

two preferred forms: homosexuality and literature, and homosexuality and music. For this reason, I analyze texts by four specialists on homosexuality from the first half of the twentieth century in Brazil: Pires de Almeida, Leonídio Ribeiro, Estácio de Lima, and Hernani de Irajá. The first three were trained in medicine and with action in government institutions, and the last one was a sexologist. Other medical texts link art and homosexuality, but I selected names with references in literature.

Body, music, and homosexuality in the medical discourse

First, the physician, hygienist, and polygraph José Ricardo Pires de Almeida published *Homosexuality: debauchery in Rio de Janeiro*. In his book, homosexuality has many names: “pederasty”, “uranianism”, “homosexual”, “perverts”, “inverted”, “sodomy”, “abnormal”, “effeminate”, “crapulence”, in the masculine case; and in the feminine case: “sapphism”, “lesbianism”, “tribadism”. Although the specific meaning of each word is clear, Almeida tends to treat the terms as synonyms and this is reproduced with fluctuating degrees of intensity in the other medical texts reviewed. However, the axis of the medical discourse of the time is the idea of homosexuality as pathological and not as a sin or crime (FIGARI, 2007, p. 240), a theme that Almeida distinguish between “sick” and “vitiated”: the former are born, the latter incorporate behavior (1906, p. 93). That there are not only fewer words but also fewer details to refer to the female world is part of the “deliberate distortion” that made possible the “overwhelming disproportion of data concerning male and female sexualities” throughout history (BOSWELL, 1996, p. 30-31). In the number of female piano students at the São Paulo Conservatory of Music, we will observe a variant of this distortion that implies a complex form of female social segregation.

Pires de Almeida writes that homosexuality would be more common among poets and that their bodies would lose manhood. Here, the “sick” people write poems (1906, p. 115). In relation to music, the “sick” suffer the musical action: “music and singing” strongly affect the “perverts”. He mention no pianist or piano piece, and writes that the patients play and sing naming two musical terms: the guitar (*violão*) and the *modinha*⁴

4 Translation note: Since around 1780, *modinha* has been a term used for a type of Portuguese urban song.

(ALMEIDA, 1906, p. 182). The author do not record further details. In the nineteenth century in Brazil, the *modinha* was a rare case in which an erudite form (the salon *modinha*) had great acceptance and popular diffusion (ANDRADE, 1930, p. 6, 8). The sick body of which Almeida speaks is different from Castro's object since Almeida observes the amateur and not the genius, and there is no production of specialized work, but reception through the delight and distraction of non-professional musical practices.

The debate about customs and certain social groups aligns with biological determinism and Cesare Lombroso's ideas. Lombroso believed that criminality was hereditary. Almeida blames the "popular dances" for the increase in prostitution in Rio de Janeiro, accuses the "carnavalesque societies" of perverting customs and spreading debauchery (1906, p. 48-9), and registers his fear of the practices of the "blacks of the African Coast" (1906, p. 69). For the doctor, the dances and music of certain social classes, pedophile practices, and Afro-descendants do not participate in good customs. Almeida does not use the terms "determinism" and "biological determinism", but it follows from these explanations. It is part of his argument that the "vitalist school" (where the "moral" dominates the "physical") has better conditions to deal with pathologies than the "organicist philosophy" and the "ultra-organicist school" in medicine, without indicating their respective authors (ALMEIDA, 1906, p. 187). He quotes Lombroso and talks about morality, but he is not efficient at chaining them. Brazilian historiography explains that determinism allowed racism to be updated (SCHWARCZ, 1993, p. 65; FERLA, 2005, p. 16-17). Almeida also creates a connection of evidence: he apologizes for the topic and implies that the reader must already know that homosexuality is disgusting, for this reason, he promises to ensure linguistic modesty (1906, p. 4). He wrote his book to bring together the medical news on homosexuality, and his reader should identify with it if he wanted to appreciate it.

Almeida cites the authority of the French journalist Ali Coffignon to justify the relationship between music and homosexuality: "Music and singing speak as much to the soul as to that of normal men; I will even say that they hurt them more perhaps because, according to Coffignon, this inclination is one of the characteristics of the uranist" (ALMEIDA, 1906, p. 181-182). Does not record citation details.⁵ The use of the

5 It was possible to verify *La corruption a Paris*, dedicated to the types of prostitution in Paris. Chapters XXIII and XXIV deal with pedophilia, and XXI on lesbianism. Coffignon cites physicians,

terms allows the reader to infer a non-historical synonymy between homosexuality, abnormality, and uranism. If he does not record a disquisition for the relationship between art and homosexuality, and between music and homosexuality, Almeida thinks that the link between matter and morality is explained through Lombroso and hygiene.

A prolific writer, Almeida trained in medicine and studied law for three years, worked in the Hygiene Inspectorate (VIEIRA, 2015, p. 757), and published about hygiene in the newspaper *Jornal do Commercio* and in the magazine *O Brazil-medico* at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, in Rio de Janeiro. This area of knowledge guaranteed him administrative, scientific, and public agency: he had an informed opinion on vaccines and the debate on compulsory vaccination, racial purity (the “mixed-race”⁶ will disappear in the fifth generation, slaves were immoral and this was aggravated by the end of slavery), and education (ALMEIDA, 1909, p. 2). Except for homosexuality, historian Lilia Schwarcz recognizes Almeida’s themes when analyzing academic institutions: the authoritarianism of medical discourse (the case of compulsory vaccination in 1904), racism (the mixture of races is condemned and whitening is proposed) and affirms that “hygiene appears associated with poverty and a mixed-race and black population” (SCHWARCZ, 1993, p. 302). In the references, I registered one publication by Almeida in *Jornal do Commercio* and another in *O Brazil-medico*; however, both cases are part of the sequences of articles on hygiene and homosexuality. The sequence of homosexuality was published in 1902, and corresponds to the sections in Almeida’s book. “Moral Hygiene” is the expression that was recorded on the cape and in the book’s advertisement (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1907, p. 3). The author writes about the existence of a cure for homosexuality with transplants and hormones, but prefers the moral treatment, “mental suggestion”. The cited relationship is deterministic and that determinism has nuances: “If such stigmas denounce what goes on in the intimacy of the physical being, not for that reason are they fatally governing man” (ALMEIDA, 1906, p. 254, 193). Almeida conceives that there are biological determinations and that the body is influenced by the environment and culture, but he does not imply that he would have verified the theories he cites.

moralists, and others without analyzing the merit of the theories (1888).

6 Translation note: *Mestizo*, from Portuguese *mestiço*.

In *Homosexuality and endocrinology*, the Brazilian doctor Leonídio Ribeiro aims to explain the “biology of the criminal man” with the theories of Lombroso and Gregorio Marañón. This concept is intended to remove the idea of sin and introduce that of disease (RIBEIRO, 1938, p. 8). In line with the novelties of medicine in the nineteenth century and with Almeida, Ribeiro thinks that homosexuality is a mental illness (“congenital predisposition of a somatic nature”) and writes that homosexuals have desires and interests in the feminine world, that homosexuality it would be a “grotesque” imitation of feminine ways, and that homosexuals like to dress as women (RIBEIRO, 1938, p. 4, 151, 154).

The endocrine doctor of Spanish nationality Gregorio Marañón was decisive for the social construction of homosexuality as a mental illness in Brazil, and his diffuser was Leonídio Ribeiro (FERLA, 2005, p. 275; GREEN, 2000, p. 199, 204). Marañón signs the preface to Ribeiro’s book and proposes a classification for homosexuals: “cynical homosexual” is a reference for those who believe that his homosexuality is normal, and groups those with superior intelligence, writers and artists. The coincidence between homosexuality and artistic talent would be so great, and ordinary people include artists of all types in the concept, that the perception of an exaggerated number of homosexuals in society would be generated (MARañON, 1938b, p. 13). This matter has a misogynistic arrangement. In his book cited and published in Brazil, *The evolution of sexuality and intersex states*, Marañón affirms that his concept of evolution comes from Charles Darwin,⁷ and explains that the woman, the adolescent and the infant are an intermediate step in evolution to the virile body.⁸ The only thing that would have superior evolution in the female body are her reproductive organs, her specialization in motherhood (1938a, p. 7-8, 51-53). Regarding intellectual capacities, Marañón recognizes that women could do the same as men; however, they have a greater aptitude for the “abstract and creative function” (1938a, p. 74). For Marañón, the binary of the rational linked to men and the artistic to women is not explicit. The rational is associated with the masculine and the sensitive with the feminine on the

7 In Brazil, Darwin’s theory of evolution became a consensus, and served to talk about the preservation of differences and the elimination of what was considered harmful (SCHWARCZ, 1993, p. 72).

8 There is another way to speak. Hernani de Irajá alleges that the submission of the normal woman to the man is a constant “at all times” (1954, p. 164).

artistic plane, but with one detail: he claims that the masculine homosexual is better prepared for artistic creation (MARAÑÓN, 1938a, p. 196). For the medical historian Thomas Laqueur, in the single-sex paradigm, the female was thought of as an imperfect male body. Between 1700 and 1800 there was a change because the European medical field began to treat the human body with a new language, which Laqueur calls the biology of the incommensurability of the two sexes (2001, p. 16, 33-34). Therefore, I understand that Marañón clings to elements of the hierarchical imaginary of the single-sex paradigm and uses Darwin in his version of the biology of the incommensurability of the two sexes.

As a continuation of Marañón's ideas, in the section dedicated to the treatment of homosexuality, Leonídio Ribeiro associated the disease with art and homosexual proselytism (1938, p. 177-178). The theme returns in Ribeiro's book on the new penal code, where he calls for pedagogical measures to preserve masculinity (1942, p. 187, 194, 196). Authors who promote eugenics, the positive penal school, and Lombrosian theories claim to act in defense of society and humanism. They do not believe they are promoting evil ideas (STEPAN, 2005, p. 9, 36-37). Ribeiro worries about homosexual proselytism because it would put healthy masculinity at risk. Examples of homosexual propaganda would be the texts by Verlaine, Rimbaud, Proust, Gide and Wilde, recurring names in narratives by other specialists: Irajá mentions Byron, Da Vinci, Shakespeare, Verlaine and Wilde (1954, p. 191); Estacio de Lima records Shakespeare, Verlaine, Rimbaud and Wilde, but his mention of the Portuguese writer Abel Botelho (1935, p. 140, 164, 167-168) is noteworthy because the reference to Portuguese authors is scarce in medicine; and Almeida speaks of the exaltation of pedophilia and quotes Anacreon, Theocritus and Horace, lyrical poets of Greco-Roman antiquity (1906, p. 158-161). The formula in which homosexuals seduce, recruit or pervert their victims is abundant in nineteenth-century European literature (TIN, 2012, p. 130), and in Brazil the idea of the "evil" influence of artistic and cultural objects is an invariable in the narratives of biological determinism (FERLA, 2005, p. 253). However, Ribeiro does not provide explanations that justify his fears. Despite indicating the homosexual danger of music, Brazilian experts have proposed a homosexual artistic pantheon inhabited by writers.

The criminalist recovers a Almeida's theme: Traviata, the famous "ugly and filthy" pederast who sang *modinhas* in the nineteenth century in Rio de Janeiro (RIBEIRO, 1938, p. 91-92; ALMEIDA, 1902, p. 360-361; 1906, pp. 78-80). The reports are almost identical. Almeida stated that Traviata is passive and active. In that section, he does not explicitly claim that clothes are expressions of the sick body or symptoms of homosexuality, but the reader could deduce those relationships given the theories Almeida cites (1906, p. 79). Almeida and Ribeiro sometimes ignored the clothing issue. Specialists in homosexuality mention the case of Oscar Wilde, but despite his public condition, they do not use it to elaborate on the sodomite taste for green neckties, a matter of determinism (ALMEIDA, 1906, p. 81; LIMA, 1935, p. 14, 211; IRAJÁ, 1954, p. 196). However, there discourses about homosexuality that left a record, and are related to the use of clothing. The trope of the "pretty boys" (*moços bonitos*) circulated in Brazil between 1900 and 1940. Journalists produced the figure that associates and confuses homosexuality, male sex work, transvestism, theft, and effemination. It was used to accuse and denounce certain scammers, thieves, sex workers, and harassers of women (VERGARA, 2018, p. 167). The way in which Almeida and Ribeiro describe Traviata is close to that figure: without justifying the relationship, without make it explicit and without explaining any causality, Ribeiro juxtaposes the elegant clothes to the homosexual subject. Still, the pedophile lives with female sex workers, another image in theories on homosexuality since the nineteenth century. With categories from different areas, Ribeiro recovers Almeida and creates a description in which he uses scientific theories, his class prejudice, musical categories, and the stigmatization of the feminine, homosexual, and popular.

Surrounded by scum whores, with whom he always met and lived, despite mutual jealousy because of the lovers. He sang fashion on the guitar, also had a beautiful contralto voice. The feminine courtship, the lascivious inflections of the voice, the movement of the eyes, the twisting of the body, when he sang the part of *Violetta* in Verdi's opera, gave him the nickname of *Traviata*, a name with which he announced himself and ostensibly signed (RIBEIRO, 1938, pp. 91-92, italics by the author).

With a repellent affectation, when he spoke, he inserted a garrulous talk that was simultaneously sweetened and stupid, wheezing the ss, and often interrupting the phrase to release a sighing and broken ais (RIBEIRO, 1938, p. 92).

La Traviata (1853) by Giuseppe Verdi is the musical adaptation of *The Lady of the Camellias* (1852) by the French writer Alexandre Dumas Fils. Violetta Vlery, the protagonist, is a young sex worker who lives between parties, luxury and pleasure, and whoever supports her does not offer her romantic love (LIBLIK, 2018, p. 8). The medical record implies that the character was used to enunciate another way of living the genre, which was perceived and justifies the medical condemnation. Almeida narrates that Traviata sang a low note in the backstage of the comic scene *Jos do Capote*, performed at Gymnasio Dramtico (1906, p. 79), a work that has been having journal records since 1857. By Paulo Midosi, *O Sr. Jos do Capote* is a parody of Verdi’s *The Troubadour*. According to the newspapers, it was staged in Rio de Janeiro for the first time between 1857 and 1861 at the *Gymnasio, S. Pedro, Santa Theresa*, and *Santa Leopoldina* theaters. It continued to be ridden. In the Digital Newspaper Library of the National Library of Brazil there are no records of Traviata, nor of her participation in Verdi’s opera and *Jos do Capote*. Ribeiro probably did not know her, and Almeida did not register how he had obtained that information.

Anthropologist Carlos Figari explains that, in the thought of Sigmund Freud and in the field of legal medicine, until the beginning of the twentieth century, there was the idea that homosexuality in the upper classes was associated with artistic genius, and sexual inversion in the subaltern classes with disease and crime (2007, p. 355). Ribeiro affirms that homosexuals of “low social level” are “incapable of sublimation” and have no ethical principles (1938, p. 149). The latter supports Lombroso’s theories (e.g., his description of Traviata and his artistic practices) and considers homosexuals as sick and not criminals, but argues that there are specific situations in which police intervention is necessary.

The positive school, the positive criminal school, or the positive school of criminal law is the legal elaboration (criminology, legal medicine) of biological determinism: the school interprets the antisocial act as a disease, and as such it can be cured, prevented and avoided. Lombroso was the main promoter. At the time, the expression “criminal anthropology” was used as a synonym for a positive school (FERLA, 2005, p. 12, 16). Ribeiro recorded the names of his collaborators, and among them, he mentions the auxiliary delegate from Rio de Janeiro, Dulcdio Gonalves. Two

others are assistants to the Juvenile educator Rocha Vaz, summoned by Ribeiro to integrate the recently created Criminal Anthropology Laboratory, in the Identification Office of the Rio de Janeiro Police. Rocha Vaz was the popularizer of Nicolás Pende's biotypology, a renewal of biological determinism. Leonídio Ribeiro cites Waldemar Berardinelli, Manuel Roiter, Coroliano Alves, Moraes Coutinho, and Dulcídio Gonçalves (1938, p. 105). The first two were assistants to Rocha Vaz (SILVA, 2014, p. 550, 552). Roberto Coriolano Alves and the psychiatrist Antonio Carlos Pacheco e Silva published an article about the three years of operation of the Judicial Asylum at the I Latin American Congress of Criminology in 1938 in Argentina. At the same event, Ribeiro and Berardinelli published the article "Morphological study of a group of criminal blacks" (JORNAL DO COMMERCIO, 1939, p. 8). The delegate Gonçalves had experience in repressing sex workers, pandering, and begging (DIARIO DA NOITE, 1934, p. 2; 1935, p. 11). This is not minor because according to Ribeiro himself, the police defined who should be arrested so that he could make the anthropometric measurements (1938, p. 105).

Unlike Aloysio de Castro, Leonídio Ribeiro was a recognized agent in the medical and government fields. He could influence people, in his work in the Rio police, through literary production and university performance. Trained in medicine, he was director of the Identification Institute (in the Rio de Janeiro Police), he created the first Criminal Anthropology Laboratory in Brazil (1931), he was director of the newly created Child Biology Laboratory, professor of criminology at the Rio de Janeiro School of Medicine, and director of the Identification Office of the Rio Civil Police of the Federal District since 1930 (GUTMAN, 2010, p. 492-493). He worked with Rio de Janeiro Police Chief Filinto Strubing Müller to update the techniques for identifying "pathological criminals" (STEPAN, 2005, p. 174). In accordance with the opinion of specialists, it can be affirmed that Ribeiro believed he was producing a modern and morally emancipated medicine, but his discourse recovers the prejudice of his time (GUTMAN, 2010, p. 489; GREEN, 2000, p. 198).

Estacio de Lima had the knowledge and medical legitimacy of his time. He graduated from the Faculty of Medicine of Bahia in 1921, traveled to Europe to learn about its universities in 1923, took a specialization course at the Medical Legal Institute

of Paris in 1924, was a professor at the Faculty of Medicine of Bahia since 1926, and he was director of the Nina Rodrigues Institute (BRITTO, 2010, p. 53). In *The Inversion of the Sexes*, Lima recorded that there would be “musicians, singers or poets” imbued with that “tendency”, homosexuality. He attributed this argument to the medical and forensic study of the Portuguese author Arlindo Camillo Monteiro *Sapphic and socratic love*, published in 1922. He cited the statistics of German sexologist Albert Moll,⁹ who “calculated that 68% of [German] pedophiles were lovers in music. Faithful disciples of Orpheus – ‘the famous initiator musician, according to Ovid, of this gloomy type of love’” (LIMA, 1935, p. 122, 142). He also elaborated on music education. The fear that mothers will weaken the virility of their children is recurring in the medical literature:¹⁰ it can occur due to the sheer excess of female company, maternal affection and teaching. Lima registered his variation and accuses parents of promoting practices that feminize: “And with what holy and naive enthusiasm good mothers praise their *little son, so good, poor baby...*”. And believing that they are doing great good, “the parents prefer that, instead of practicing violent *football*, the child comes home to perfect himself in design, apply himself more to the piano, deepen his singing...” (1935, p. 207-208, italics by the author). Lima suggests that both formulas – the exaggeration in the study of music and any dose of musical study – would be threats to masculinity.

Still under the theme of education for masculinity, Estacio de Lima shows discomfort with the excess of care with animals, the excess of imbibition with children, sweet individuality, and enthusiasm for heroes (LIMA, 1935, p. 210- 211). What he wrote about teaching singing and piano, could he say about chess and table tennis? If the reason is associated with masculinity, would Lima propose that studying mathematics, medicine, and physics are feminizing activities? Lima does not elaborate on female professionalization or the professionalization of subaltern people. I deduce that chemists, industrialists, salespersons, professional musicians, and others could have the knowledge that he stigmatizes and not others. He used scientific terms to affirm that artistic forms produce virile degeneration with the registration of some inappropriate

9 A psychiatrist disciple of Kraft-Ebing, Moll believes that homosexuality is pathological, genetic, and hardly curable, “gender inversion” (TIN, 2012, p. 404).

10 Ribeiro cites Mara on to affirm that mothers are almost always responsible for homosexuality and other “instinct disorders” of their children (1938, p. 179).

professions in men: seamstress, cook, dancer, and in these paragraphs, he did not mention poets, singers, or pianists (LIMA, 1935, p. 211). Thus, Lima instilled the fear of musical and artistic education, but did not stigmatize professions and male professionals whose performance was recognized.

The sexologist Hernani de Irajá collaborated with newspapers for two decades and published more than forty books that gave him public prestige and academic rejection (EZABELLA, 2010, p. 13, 52). In his book *Love psychosis* Irajá recorded deterministic ideas and uses the term “music” generically: “Havellock Ellis especially cites the uranist inclination for music. They are vain, they have homosexual modesty, and many are easily irritable”. Homosexuals like feminine clothes and taking care of their bodies, and he recalled that effeminates are not always homosexual (IRAJÁ, [1917] 1954, p. 196-197). He cites Almeida to describe the taste of “invert” for musical and theatrical forms: classical dances, amateur theater, in these you can “sing *modinhas*” and “recite melancholic verses” (IRAJÁ, 1954, p. 193). A few pages before, and in an argument without details, he affirmed and asked: “Invert is common among pianists. Does music develop uranism, or is uranist prone to music?” (1954, p. 191). The second generalization did not clarify the first, on the contrary, among musicians, are pianists more prone than others? Is there a distinction among amateurs, students, and professionals? Is there a difference between the producers and receivers of music? Irajá had no interest in this, but wrote that homosexuals seek certain professions: “ladies’ tailors”, hairdressers, seamstresses, cooks, confectioners, masseurs, barbers, and costume designers (1954, p. 193, 195). Without citing names, he alleged that there are homosexuals among deputies, senators, and government ministers, but “inversion” in prominent and recognized men would be temporary (IRAJÁ, 1954, p. 191). According to Irajá, homosexuality is an innate disease aggravated by behavior, but it can only be generated by deviant behavior. Similar to doctors, Irajá associated music (piano, *modinhas*) and homosexuality, and poetry and homosexuality; and he equated different terms and implied cause. However, his way of writing moves away from the puritanical and disgusted nuances of Almeida, Lima, and Ribeiro thanks to his empathy for sexual pleasure.

Specialists in homosexuality use knowledge of psychiatry, something I did not detail in this text. Psychiatrists worked in the construction of eugenics through the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene created in 1923: in the group there were those who came to defend the sterilization of patients, the end of racial mixing, the end of the immigration of non white subjects, and the creation of “eugenic courts” (COSTA, [1974] 2007, p. 19).

It can be concluded that under the authority of biodeterminism (Lombroso, Marañón), eugenics, sexology, and psychiatry, there were discourses in Brazilian medicine that associate homosexuality with literature, and homosexuality with music. These elements constitute the world in which Aloysio de Castro praises the effeminate and sad fragility of Chopin’s sick body.

Phthisic and musical genius at Aloysio de Castro’s conference

The doctor Aloysio de Castro affirmed the relationship between illness and genius in Chopin, since “the physique was like the expression of his music, with its ailment, its morbidities and its sublime exaltations” (CASTRO, 1927, p. 4). What is the morbidity? “Laryngeal tuberculosis” (*tysica laryngea*). He cited the French poet Maurice Rollinat, whose verses express that phthisic engenders genius. Castro offered his thesis on Chopin’s music with poetic and medical references (1927, p. 7, 16). He does not go so far as to imply that poetry verifies this assertion, and did not record reasons. Since his text is essayistic, he cannot be charged with not offering explanations for what could be plausible within his field, and he would have decided to express only hermetically and rhetorically.

Castro related sadness to Chopin in two ways. If life in an aristocratic milieu means elegant clothes, luxury, and fun, he stressed that Chopin lived there in an “exterior” way, because deep down “among silks and taffetas, the musician’s heart turned inside out silently in his thoughts and anxieties”. Chopin’s sadness was not the “vulgar and inexpressive sadness of despondency in mediocrity, plus the superior sadness that places the sign of great beauty in chosen souls” (CASTRO, 1927, p. 8). For Castro, the sadness of genius is what can only occur in special individuals; it helps and

allows the generation of artistic work, since only the exceptional experience is capable of producing exceptional creation. Another source of sadness is the illness. The associations are so intense that Castro alleged that Eugène Delacroix represented them in painting: “in the morbid light of the eyes one sees at the same time the fever of genius and the burning of oxidizing consumptive” (CASTRO, 1927, p. 6). The doctor concluded by saying that music is a consequence of the disease: it acts on the mind and creates artistic work. Thus, “it is not difficult to recognize in Chopin’s music the psychological reflection of a tortured life and a suffering spirit, in which the radiation of genius darkens before the fatality of the deadly disease” (CASTRO, 1927, p. 28). The sick body, the different body, can produce artistic works of merit and works that express pain. If these relationships imply determinism, Castro excludes many types of suffering bodies from artistic creation. He wrote without suggesting what other body types would be. Castro did not attribute a pejorative character to the feminine, fragile, and sick in Fryderyk Chopin. These aspects make up his eulogy for the male artistic genius.

Castro did not suggest it, but the link between “feminism” and laryngeal consumptive (tuberculosis) deserves consideration. Laryngeal tuberculosis is a type of tuberculosis. In feminist literature, it is known that in 1871 the French doctor Ferdinand-Valère Faneau de la Cour used the term “feminism” for the first time to describe features considered feminine on male bodies with tuberculosis. In 1872, Alexandre Dumas Fils used it to ridicule women who fought for formal equality with men, and only later was it used to indicate the struggle of women for their political recognition (JAIVEN, 2016, p. 145). The French medical form is circulated in Brazil. In 1891, the magazine *O Brazil-medico* published a text by the French physician Henri Huchard, which dealt with the early detection of tuberculosis. The cited edition and others consulted do not record it, but according to Schwarcz, *O Brazil-medico* was the journal of the Rio de Janeiro School of Medicine (1993, p. 286); and the book *La thérapeutique en vingt médicaments* by Huchard and Charles Fiessinger was widely used at the Bahia School of Medicine (BRITTO, 2010, p. 54). In Portuguese, Huchard used the terms “feminism”, “infantilism”, and “youthfulness” to describe symptoms. He mentioned Leudet, Lorain, Bourdon, and Faneau de la Cour as sources to refer to “thin limbs, rudimentary breasts, thinning without menstruation, genitalia similar to those of a

7 or 8 year old child” (HUCHARD, 1891, p. 150). The first two are probably Théodore-Émile Leudet and Paul Joseph Lorain. Common in medical publications at the time, Huchard recorded only the last name. In the form used later by Marañón, it is understood that the mature body is the virile one. Huchard is explicit regarding the meaning that he attributes to the word “feminism”: consumptive produces feminized men and did not speak of art.

There are other uses, as well. In his already commented book, Pires de Almeida understands that “feminism” and “feminist” are references for effeminate men, and “mannish women” (*masculistas*) and “overmasculine” (*masculismo*) for virilized women. He referred to the visible characteristics since, in his opinion, no genital anomalies were observed in these subjects. The groups were not defined by their appearance and behavior, but by their sterility. Almeida used the terms cited to describe sexual deviation, and in those passages, he did not mention artistic issues (1906, p. 100-101). In Huchard’s variant, “feminism” serves to attack what would not be masculine enough, and in Almeida, the words for bodies other than the sexual norm are defined by their sterility.

The figure of the artist’s tuberculous body was recorded in the press. This allowed us to comment on the use of medical ideas. Brazilian cartoonist Belmonte (Benedito Barreto) brings together tuberculosis, poetry, and female love in a satire published in *My love! I adore you!* The book is about love and gathers part of his production for the São Paulo newspaper *Folha da Noite*. The caricature titled “In the days of romanticism” represents a group of young women who seek the sick poet instead of the handsome young man (Fig. 1). With the anemic/brummelic opposition, Belmonte’s verses reinforced the contrast between the flaccid and ugly face of the poet and the oval shape that indicates the physical well-being of the young man and girls: “In times of romanticism / The rhymers of horrible poems / tubercular, famished, anemic, / tames, without cost, sensitive hearts / defeating the brummelic lad!” (BELMONTE, 1926, p. 71). “Brummelic” (*brummélico*) does not exist in Portuguese. The term corresponds to the transformation of the surname of George Bryan Brummell (1778-1840) into an adjective: before Brummell died, his name became a myth in the nineteenth century, a myth in the sense that his name comes to mean himself and his dandyism. This was part

of the creation of a stereotype of masculinity outside the norm that threatened the establishment (RUBIRA, 2014, p. 354-355). In Brazil, since the 1830s, dandies have been accused of futility and a certain degree of effeminacy, not only for their “tedious and complacent” attitudes, but above all for the “extravagance of trends” and “exaggerated concern for clothes”. And as it happened in Europe, dandies are related to homoeroticism (FIGARI, 2007, p. 198, 202). In Belmonte’s joke, two tropes for nineteenth-century masculinity are contrasted: the poet with tuberculosis and the dandy.

Figure 1 – In the days of romanticism



BELMONTE. *My love! I adore you! Love through the centuries*
[*Meu amor! Adoro-te! O amor através dos séculos*]. São Paulo: Frou-Frou, 1926, p. 71¹¹.

11 In the public domain. The image comes from the text scanned by the Brasiliana Guita and José Mindlin Library – PRCEU/USP.

Fragile body, effeminacy, and musical genius in Aloysio de Castro's conference

To talk about the body of the male artistic genius, Aloysio de Castro provides two musical examples of romanticism. First, light music is not related to the “chubby” body. The inventor of the Nocturne genre,¹² the Scottish composer John Field, had a body that does not correspond to his artistic works: “Pianist of infinite delicacy, who put into his songs, sad as the silence of the night, the sweet light of the full moon, it is hard to believe he was chubby, heavy, a smoker, and a drunk, a burlesque type” (CASTRO, 1927, p. 4). An obese body should not produce light music and music of excellence, and if it does, it generates disappointment, but Castro does not reformulate his theories. Associated with the above, Castro implies that a person who excessively consumes drugs would not be capable of inventing sad music.

The second example is the Polish composer Fryderyk Chopin, who offers a correspondence between the fragile body and great music; in this case, the disease generated art (CASTRO, 1927, p. 4-5). Castro's text implies that Chopin had a sick and sad body, and that generated behavior that coped with his condition in such a way that the art that emerged at the end of the process is not the direct result of a biological cause, but the result of the interaction between body, disease, culture, environment and behavior. Castro does not emphasize it, he prefers the entelechy over illness, effeminacy, and masculine genius.

Aloysio de Castro used the image of the effeminate man together with the masculinized woman to elaborate on the feminine superiority in the interpretation of Chopin. He argued that George Sand's character is complementary to Chopin's, and the performance of the femininity of his partner incorporates masculine aspects, aspects that would counterbalance Chopin's weaknesses: “What did Chopin drag into the exaltations of George Sand? The attraction of opposites. He had the graceful beauty, she the robust beauty”. Castro explained that Sand “was a young woman, carefree about getting ready, pretty on her own. She wore short brown hair, smoked like a man, and had socialist

12 The nocturnes are characterized because the harmonic structures (arpeggios of open chords) that sustain the melody depend on the use of the pedal. There is a colorful use of the timbre of the forte piano. Field represents one of the lines that separate romanticism from piano classicism (ROSENBLUM, 1991, p. 120).

ideas. Evidently, a forerunner” (1927, p. 12-13). Chopin, in turn, covers himself with “a thousand care in dressing and to be impeccable he always wore white gloves” (1927, p. 7). The composer is a soft, sickly, and graceful figure that creates dedicated and soft works that are suitable for female interpretation. Female pianists would have greater interpretative competence than their peers when learning and performing Chopin’s music: “very delicate playing” is the “Chopinian style”. Who play better? Castro responds that “victory belongs to women” (1927, p. 23-24).

In Castro’s text, the figure of a fragile man who marries a determined woman is not pejorative. However, it circulated in other forms, and I will comment on the other two. First, the modernist writer and political leader of the Brazilian Fundamentalist Action (*Ação Integralista Brasileira*) Plinio Salgado, and second, the version of the writer Monteiro Lobato. Exiled in Portugal by the decision of the Getulio Vargas dictatorship against his political actions in 1938 (KLEIN, 2004, p. 73-75), Salgado writes the conference *Women in the twentieth century* to meet the request of Catholic Action and Lusitanian charity organizations. He wants to defend the “spiritualist and Christian foundations of human life”; without that principle it would be impossible to understand the “female soul” and its role in the family and the nation. The debate on the Brazilian nation permeated the political debate of the 1920s and the 1930s. During the dictatorship of the New State, Getulio Vargas brought together the influence of intellectuals and artists with Gustavo Capanema in the Ministry of Education. The nomenclature of the “nationalization of teaching” centralization, anti-regionalism, and intolerance of differences are implied. Salgado is not only to defend extreme nationalist ideas. The New State also “stimulates and slows down” the actions of fundamentalism (BOMENY, 1999, p. 152, 150).

Plinio Salgado also accuses his intellectual opponents, the “materialists”, for their difficulty in perceiving human “sexual functions” (1949, p. 21-22). Salgado’s performance is concomitant with the gestation of the Modern Art Week in 1922, a time in which Salgado discusses modernism, nation, poetry, and art, and resorts to the binary “positive experimentalism” versus “spiritual resurgence” in a journalistic publication (1922, p.154). It may not have been his intention, but his network of contacts (mainly Menotti del Picchia and Cassiano Ricardo) implies that it is from his participation in the

debate on modernism that Salgado organized part of the fundamentalist imaginary.¹³ Some precedents can be seen in the *Verdeamarillo Manifesto* of 1929, when the five new entrants to the Paulista Academy of Letters signed the manifesto in the hall of honor of the São Paulo Dramatic and Musical Conservatory, and euphemized their political position with the argument of the construction of national unity and the denial of any social “prejudice” in Brazil (SALGADO et al., 1929, p. 4).

In his conference, Salgado reports that the technicians of Darwinism propose that the more civilized, the more women give their minds “vacations”, since they focus on their physical condition (SALGADO, 1949, p. 34). If science does not speak of Christian truths more of nature, in his opinion, scientific knowledge validates Christian dogma. He explained that he is unable to detail his arguments, which would be good because he can make incisive argumentative summaries. Finally, the trope names a chapter: “Masculinized women and effeminate men”. For Salgado, the bad thing is the similarity between spouses and the dangerous lack of distinction between men and women that leads men to domestic work. In big cities, the husband and wife work outside the home and produce something terrible, the typical “companionship” of “same-sex” couples (SALGADO, 1949, p. 106). It is impressive because, at that time in Brazil, nobody proposed the recognition of homosexuals’ affective and sexual relations: Almeida, Ribeiro, and Irajá know that Karl Ulrich proposed the marriage of individuals of the same sex in Germany in 1860 (ALMEIDA, 1906, p. 31, 185; RIBEIRO, 1942, p. 148; IRAJÁ, 1954, p. 192), but they did not elaborate on it because the matter seemed absurd to them. In the texts discussed here, no one tries to question the fusion between marriage and romantic love, and the possibility of recognizing civil unions between same-sex couples, possible experiences in the “premodern West” for a long time (BOSWELL, 1996, p. 18-19). Meanwhile, Salgado was not interested in marriage between same-sex couples, he was irritated by the possibility that the husband would be his wife’s partner and not the head of the household. The leader saw evil in fellowship. Additionally, Salgado accused the Soviet totalitarian state and its propaganda for spreading feminism and the false emancipation of women, weapons against the family. Instead of homosexual proselytism, he alleged that there would be a cultural attack on

13 The growth of Salgado’s fundamentalism includes other variables, such as the spread of communism in Brazil (MOTTA, 2002, p. 11).

humanity: literature, theater, cinema, painting, sculpture, architecture, and music would be the instruments of “obliteration” and “dissolution” of balance and human forms¹⁴ (SALGADO, 1949, p.109).

The writer and businessperson Monteiro Lobato owned the magazine *Revista do Brasil* between 1918 and 1925. The magazine was one of the main publications of the time, focused on the nationalist debate, and incorporated the themes of his time: positivism, determinism, evolutionism, and Social Darwinism (LUCA, 1999, p. 31, 33-34, 61). Lobato addresses the aforementioned figure in his chronicle “The Romance of the Blackbird” (*O Romance do Chupim*) published in *Revista do Brasil*. The arrangement, in which the husband is submissive and the wife is the provider, is a joke. According to Beaurepaire-Rohan’s *Dictionary of Brazilian Words*, “Chopim” is also used as a variant of “Chupim” (1889, p. 47). Neither of the two terms has an etymological relationship with Chopin. In Lobato’s narration, “blackbird” is a reference to the failed man, “misfortune of virility”, which reinforces the expression “teacher’s husband”. The fault is moral and not physical because this man fertilizes but is unable to supply and command his home. People got the nickname through analogy with the blackbird, which uses the work of other species (LOBATO, 1920, p. 197). By way of illustration, Lobato introduces the story of Little Edward (*Eduardinho*) Tavares, a young man whose behavior falls between the feminine and the masculine. Without an obvious flaw, he has a shyness characteristic of girls, and in childhood he liked to play with dolls and not the typical games for children; in adolescence, instead of beating cats like boys, he preferred to read romances “crying heartfelt tears”. Since his behavior was inappropriate, the narrator says that in addition to laughing at him, he hit him so that he would learn to behave. He gave him the nickname “Sissy” (*Maricota*) because of her cowardice and abused of her submission (LOBATO, 1920, p. 197-198). Little Edward never lost his shyness, he became a “misogynist” and dissipated his inheritance. At that moment, a female teacher appears, “a muscular, angular woman, with an energetic, authoritarian air”, and when he married her, he “was a blackbird for the rest of his life”. An extensive part of the story serves to mock the artistic activity (writing romances) of the effeminate man and his wife’s support (LOBATO, 1920, p. 199-203).

14 In the anti-communist imaginary, it was believed that communism aims to “destroy the family and overlap morality” (MOTTA, 2002, p. 66).

Who is questioned? According to the historian Tania Regina de Luca, almost all the figures who enjoyed a certain literary and artistic projection were published in the *Revista do Brasil* between 1916 and 1925 (LUCA, 1999, p. 53), and we have already observed that doctors affirmed the relationship between homosexuality and literature. Monteiro Lobato published a primer on hygiene distributed by the state government, and *Revista do Brasil* used the hygienist discourse that disqualified women, did not question established knowledge, and channeled the debate on what type of woman would be scientifically suitable for Brazilian men (LUCA, 1999, p. 220, 222, 165-166). The writer's article has no elements that suggest self-criticism, and its contrast with the production of time indicates a way of validating common sense and scientific discourse. Lobato recovers some medical axioms, however, a variation that does not appear in the last one is the figure of the effeminate subjected to the power of the healthy man.

Praise and segregation

The sentimental expression in Chopin's music is the only book in which Castro dealt with music, which was the publication of his conference for the Society of Artistic Culture, an event held at the Municipal Theater of São Paulo on June 1, 1927. Antonietta Rudge Miller performed Chopin on the occasion and the press reported on the event. Music critic Otávio Bevilacqua published an article titled "Musicology" in the magazine *Revista Musical*, printed in Rio de Janeiro. Bevilacqua does not question Castro's ideas (1927, p. 4). The newspaper *Correio Paulistano* recorded that Rudge performed half of the music programmed because she was ill, and alleged that Castro did not say anything new about Chopin (1927, p. 7). Antonietta Rudge and her teacher Luigi Chiaffarelli were exceptional figures in the musical and piano world of Brazil. Recognition can be inferred from journalistic records. When Chiaffarelli died, there was a eulogy to his memory in the official government newspaper, it recalls the sixty "historical concerts" produced by his students, mentions Guiomar Novaes and Rudge as an example of artistic excellence, and talks about the pilgrimage to the tomb of the professor (CORREIO PAULISTANO, 1923, p. 1). Rudge's name returns to the pages frequently. I can point out that in 1926, in a tribute to the president of the republic,

Rudge and the erudite singer Bidú Saião participated in the gala (CORREIO PAULISTANO, 1926, p. 3). Also music critic Oscar Guanabara wrote that Rudge's way of playing generated "fanaticism" in Rio de Janeiro (1926, p. 2).

Aloysio de Castro had the collaboration of a renowned piano specialist and gave his speech in a place characterized by the dissemination of traditional European music. According to musicologist Cristina Magaldi, more than other instruments and practices, the piano enabled the early globalization of music in the nineteenth century, and no other instrument incorporated the sense of "European urban modernity and technical progress" (2004, p. 9-10). The rise in the study and use of the piano in Brazil occurred in the first half of the twentieth century, and if the piano concert would also its epitome, the instrument would be domestic and bourgeois. Since the instrument arrived in Brazil, it has been associated with elite families and the female figure, in the latter case, in a non-professional way. Musical education was a European matrix, whether in its particular or institutional form (AMATO, 2008, p. 168, 170, 173), and the instrument was a "symbol of social status" (FREIRE; PORTELLA, 2010, p. 65).

If references in this regard are incomplete in their temporal spectrum, it can be affirmed that in places where traditional European music was studied, the majority were female. Jaci Toffano, a music specialist, alleges that 467 female students and 41 male students attended the Chiaffarelli school in São Paulo between 1895 and 1915 (women represent 88.44%); and between 1913 and 1929, 617 female students and 17 male students (97% of female presence) were enrolled at the Dramatic and Musical Conservatory of São Paulo (TOFFANO, 2007, p. 78-81, 84-85). According to the report of its director, Leopoldo Miguez, in the National Institute of Music (Rio de Janeiro), there were 347 female students and 54 male students registered in 1895 (VERMES, 2004, p. 6). Toffano's data find verification in other sources: Chiaffarelli's students pay homage to him with a booklet with the names of their students, and the programs of some historic concerts. There are ten pages with the names of female students and one with male names. They used the feminine ending as a synthesis of the masculine and feminine in the title (*To the teacher Luigi Chiaffarelli: his grateful lady students*), but the presentation of the text is made by a man, the music critic José Rodrigues Barbosa (BARBOSA, 1916, p. i-iv, CHIAFFARELLI, 1916, pp. 63-73). Brazilian historiography

recognizes ten authors of texts on the history of music in Brazil produced between 1900 and 1980: there are no women among them (VERMES, 2015, p. 15-16). There are 332 works by women published between 1870 and 1910, but “the female presence in the world of music is practically ignored by the literature of the area, in Brazil” (FREIRE; PORTELLA, 2010, p. 71).

However, the use of public and professional spaces did not correspond. Women need authorization to work,¹⁵ and the Municipal Theater hires pianists, mostly men (TOFFANO, 2007, p. 78-81). If the Municipal Theater of Rio de Janeiro is the largest space for the performance of concert women since 1908, in the specific case of Rio de Janeiro halls and theaters (including those that have the stigma of “light”), there was a great female activity of actresses and singers. However, social prestige did not accompany women, and in these spaces the presence of pianists, conductors, and composers was scarce and their musical practices were considered “amateurs or ‘minors’”, in accordance with the prejudices of that time (FREIRE; PORTELLA, 2010, p.71, 74-75). The female presence in educational spaces does not imply female inclusion, this implies the existence of a complex form of social segregation.

Gregorio Marañón wrote that the organs of motherhood are the most evolved in women, and women’s body is a passage toward the masculine. What is the relationship between this knowledge and the musical world? I have just mentioned that in music schools women were the numerical majority, but in addition to segregation, job opportunities and the ways of teaching implied that for many women, education easily turned into the misogynistic naturalization of maternal women. But these ideas were criticized. São Paulo writer Ercília Nogueira Cobra published *Unhygienic Virginity*. The first edition was prohibited from circulating thanks to the requirement of the Municipal Chamber to the Secretary of Justice of São Paulo (A GAZETA, 1924, p. 1). Cobra was a pioneer in the claim for love and sex outside of marriage (PRIORE, 2006, p. 260), and in 1918, she came first in a teacher contest but was not hired, she also played piano and managed a cabaret (MOTT, 1986, p.98). The central thesis of Cobra’s book is that women fall into sex work because female education does not professionalize. She affirmed that education should allow the woman to work outside her home and not serve

15 The civil code of 1916 considers the woman incapable of carrying out certain activities, for example, the married woman needs her husband’s authorization to work (PRIORE, 2006, p. 246).

only to accompany her work as a homeowner and a captivated wife (1924, p. 6, 9). The 1927 conference praised femininity, but Aloysio de Castro did not need to know Cobra's arguments.

Body and music in Mário de Andrade's texts

Observing the criticism of a music specialist allows for a comparison of the discourses of the time. The modernist writer and musicologist Mário de Andrade had another reading of the relationships between the body and music, an aspect observable in the selected texts. In the section "Musical Romanticism" of *Dance of the four arts*, Andrade named what he perceives as romantic lightness in artistic appreciation, which has no correspondence with the experience of the individual. In romanticism, the "delirium of feelings" of authors such as Chopin and Robert Schumann "substitutes the depth of life" (ANDRADE, [1941] 1963, p. 59). Without evoking the nuances of eugenics and racism in the theme of the truth of the body, Andrade accuses the effect that romantic music has on the recipient's body: crying and emotion. The emotional lack of control would be bad because he understands that, in this way, musical appreciation tends to be reduced to emotional and spectacular. He recovered the diatribe against the idolatry of piano (*pianolatry*) by referring to the piano concerto with its "six hands" and "no head" (ANDRADE, 1963, p. 60). In "Chopin's actuality", the next section argues that romanticism led to the creation of works of poor quality, but the composer "knew how to carry out his message without the abuses or misguidance of freedom". The musical work is an elaboration of his personal life and vision of the nation (1963, p. 152).

In his book *Falling in love with medicine* and his article "Biological Force of Music", Mário de Andrade wrote about the "therapeutic function" of music: he explains that musical therapy is of interest to sociology, psychology, and ethnography, and not of medicine because he understands that this therapy "does not seek to cure diseases" but to activate sexual, mystical, heroic, industrial and family functions (1936, p. 54; 1939, p. 24). Tânia Cardoso and Elizabeth Lima judge differently when reporting that Andrade defended the use of music therapy (*meloterapia*) as an auxiliary treatment in mental

hygiene in *Falling in love with medicine* (2016, p. 112, 130). It was thought of sanitizing the mind and disciplining the body through music. The idea of sanitizing the mind with art is a paradigm that competes with the appreciation of the relationship of patients with music and other forms of art. By recognizing the artistic production of patients, Osorio César and Nisse da Silveira innovate and humanize treatments (CARDOSO; LIMA, 2016, p. 135). In fact, Andrade recorded that music therapy helps the mentally ill (1939, p. 37-39), classified as charlatanism the allegation that playing certain instruments cures certain diseases, and affirmed that there is a lack of systematization in the area (1939, p. 45, 55). Andrade elaborated on the effects of music on performers and listeners but did not speak of excesses, as he did in the case of musical romanticism. The musicologist related the musical practices of the African matrix to the term “primitive”, but it does not stigmatize it, nor does it offer racist connotations. From his research on religious, popular and “primitive” music, he observed its therapeutic uses and the reinforcement of various social functions (ANDRADE, 1936, p. 54; 1939, p. 16-17).

Mário de Andrade does not use Castro’s thesis, but he knew the medical literature and that which Ribeiro described as homosexual proselytism. He had many texts by Gide, but not *Corydon* and *Si le grain ne meurt* (the ones that generated the most rejection). In Andrade’s library there is no record of medical texts by Lima and Almeida; there is a record of Ribeiro, Irajá, Freud, Marañon, Verlaine, Rimbaud, and Wilde. This can be verified by the Electronic Catalog of the Institute of Brazilian Studies. Curiously, the names cited by Ribeiro are practically the same as those Andrade used in 1923 to associate pedophilia with artistic genius, a comment made as a result of receiving letters with anonymous insults (apud DUARTE, 1971, p. 289).

Louis-Georges Tin affirms that the books with homosexual content by Marcel Proust and André Gide generated great public rejection in the 1920s, and between 1894 and 1900 the trial of Oscar Wilde caused an international scandal (2012, p. 176, 234, 487). In his speech to the students of the São Paulo Dramatic and Musical Conservatory, Mário de Andrade quoted *De Profundis* – which Wilde wrote when he was in jail convicted of sodomy –, he proposed a nationalism that includes socially reviled musical

manifestations, and he explicitly recommended the study of *maxixes*¹⁶ and *modinhas* (1923, p. 3). The official newspaper *Correio Paulistano* reproduced the speech. Lawyer and poet, Francisco Pati responds with the article “The crime of Oscar Wilde: São Paulo and its men of letters”. This article integrates the aesthetic and moral hygiene campaign in the São Paulo newspaper *Folha da Noite*. The debate on art, reason, madness, nation, masculinity, and hygiene lasted seven months; using referents of mental illness in the offenses, anti-modernist criticism, and dedicated the highest concentration of homophobic and racist insults to Mário de Andrade. The writer Aristeo Seixas defines the campaign as the “defense of ‘*serious, masculine and balanced art*’” (SEIXAS, 1923, p. 4-5, italics and quotation marks by the author). In the aforementioned article, Francisco Pati reproached Gide, focused his text on the condemnation of Wilde, his green carnations, and blamed him for being the source of São Paulo futurism. Pati wrote that Wilde’s style even suggests the “practice of crimes” (PATI, 1923, p. 2). He found the peddler’s musical proclamation (*pregón*) unbearable, whose incorrect pronunciation Andrade recorded in the poem “Nocturno” from *Hallucinated City*: “Oven rooasted pootatoes [Batat’assat’ô furnn!...]” (ANDRADE, 1922, p. 95). The campaign promoters cited a musical proclamation to mock it. The proclamation synthesizes what they abhor: “Nocturno” evokes the musical practice of a peddler, his pronunciation, the poor neighborhood, the action of the female sex workers, and the drunken mulatto singing *modinhas* accompanied by a guitar. For agents of the moral and aesthetic hygiene campaign, this poetry would be irrational, stupid, and subversive (VERGARA, 2018, p. 24-26).

Conclusions

A specialist in medicine and an established writer, Aloysio de Castro knew scientific, literary, and artistic production. For this, I deduce that his praise of the disease and feminine fragility that generates masculine genius is coordinated with the intellectual, artistic, and medical fields that build maternal and femininity, segregation by gender, tolerated some homosexuals and effeminates based on the reification of

16 “The maxixe was therefore associated with rude groups, and practiced covertly, in the silence of the night and in disreputable neighborhoods” (SANDRONI, 2001, p. 63).

genius, and diminished the Other. In conclusion, I think that Castro writes elaborately, and that his text is a eulogy to the memory of Chopin and femininity. Would Castro praise the male homosexual genius? Instead, through the figure of the effeminate, sad, and consumptive Chopin, Aloysio de Castro praised the sick body of the male artistic genius. Castro's text is understood by considering the universe of discursive possibilities and their contingency. In reference to Chopin's music and female performance, Castro's claim does not imply that only women play Chopin with excellence, just that they take the lead. The social existence of reified ideas does not exclude the circulation of elaborately enunciated prejudice. Faced with stigmatizing social processes, it is necessary to note the socially constructed need for discursive multiplicity and discourses that euphemize stereotypes.

REFERENCES

- A GAZETA. Um livro immoral. São Paulo. 1 sep. 1924, p. 1.
- ALMEIDA, Jose Ricardo Pires de. *Homosexualismo: a libertinagem no Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Laemmert, 1906.
- _____. Hygiene municipal desde os tempos coloniaes até 31 de julho de 1909. *Jornal do Commercio*. Rio de Janeiro, 28 sep. 1909, p. 2
- _____. Medicina publica: a libertinagem no Rio de Janeiro perante a historia, os costumes e a moral. *O Brazil-medico: revista semanal de medicina e cirurgia*. Rio de Janeiro. Año XVI, n. 36, p. 359-361, 22 sep. 1902.
- AMATO, Rita de Cássia Fucci. Funções, representações e valorações do piano no Brasil: um itinerário sócio-histórico. *Revista do Conservatório de Música da UFPel*. Pelotas, n. 1, p. 166-194, 2008. Disponible en: [bit.ly/ 2Cck2AR](http://bit.ly/2Cck2AR). Acceso en: 4 nov. 2019.
- ANDRADE, Mário de. Força biológica da música. *Publicações Medicas: revista mensal*. Año VIII, N. LXXXIV, p. 47-56, oct-nov., 1936.
- _____. *Modinhas imperiais*. São Paulo: Chiarato, 1930.
- _____. *Namoros com a medicina*. Porto Alegre: Globo, 1939.

- _____. No Conservatório Dramático e Musical: Discurso pronunciado pelo distinto professor Mário de Andrade. *Correio Paulistano*. São Paulo. 19 mar. 1923, p. 3.
- _____. *O baile das quatro artes*. São Paulo: Martins, 1963.
- _____. *Paulicea desvairada*. São Paulo: Casa Mayença, 1922.
- BARBOSA, José Rodrigues. [Apresentação]. In: CHIAFFARELLI, Luigi. *Ao maestro Luigi Chiaffarelli: suas alumnas agradecidas*. São Paulo: Weiszflog, 1916, p. i-iv.
- BEAUREPAIRE-ROHAN, Henrique de. *Diccionario de vocabulos brasileiros*. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1889.
- BELMONTE. *Meu amor! Adoro-te! O amor através dos séculos*. São Paulo: Frou-Frou, 1926.
- BEVILACQUA, Otávio. Musicologia: Aloysio de Castro: “A expressão sentimental na musica de Chopim”. *Revista Musical*. Rio de Janeiro. 1 nov. 1927, p. 4.
- BOMENY, Helena M.B. Três decretos e um ministério: o propósito da educação no Estado Novo. In: PANDOLFI, Dulce (org.). *Repensando o Estado Novo*. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 1999, p. 136-166.
- BOSWELL, John. *Las bodas de la semejanza: uniones entre personas del mismo sexo en la Europa premoderna*. Traducción. Marco Amelio Galmarini. Barcelona: Muchnik, 1996.
- BRITTO, Antonio Carlos Nogueira. A influencia da medicina da França na formação da medicina da Bahia, Brasil. *Gazeta Médica da Bahia*. 80: 2, p. 33-56, mai-jul., 2010. Disponível em: <http://bit.ly/2CcLnD4>. Acesso em: 4 nov. 2019.
- CARDOSO, Tânia Marques; LIMA, Elizabeth de Araújo. Terapêutica musical na saúde mental de São Paulo: recorte sobre higienismo, psiquiatria e disciplina, no Hospital do Juqueri, início do século XX. *Cadernos de História da Ciência*. v. 12, p. 112-143, 2016. Disponível em: <http://bit.ly/2WHmFE6>. Acesso em: 4 nov. 2019.
- CASTRO, Aloysio de. *A expressão sentimental na musica de Chopin*: Conferencia na Sociedade de Cultura Artistica de São Paulo. Rio de Janeiro: Briguiet, 1927.

- CHIAFFARELLI, Luigi. *Ao mestre Luigi Chiaffarelli: suas alunas agradecidas*. São Paulo: Weiszflog, 1916.
- COBRA, Ercília Nogueira. *Virgindade anti-higienica: preconceitos e convenções hypocritas*. 3ª ed. [São Paulo]: [Lobato], [1924].
- COFFIGNON, Ali. *La corruption à Paris*. Paris: Librairie Illustrée, 1888.
- CORREIO PAULISTANO. Em memória do prof. Luiz Chiaffarelli. São Paulo. 25 jun. 1923, p. 1.
- _____. Recitaes: cultura artística. São Paulo. 2 jun. 1927, p. 7.
- _____. Registro de arte. São Paulo. 13 nov. 1926, p. 3.
- COSTA, Jurandir Freire. *História da psiquiatria no Brasil: um corte ideológico*. 5ª ed. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2007.
- DIARIO DA NOITE. Escolhidos os delegados auxiliares. Rio de Janeiro. 31 jul. 1934, p. 2.
- _____. Intensifica-se o combate ao lenocínio. Rio de Janeiro. 9 feb. 1935, p. 11.
- DUARTE, Paulo. *Mário de Andrade por ele mesmo*. São Paulo: Edart-SP, 1971.
- EZABELLA, Alessandro. *Hernani de Irajá: arte e ciência de um sexólogo brasileiro*. 116f. Dissertação. Núcleo de História da Psicologia. Programa de Estudos Pós-Graduados em Psicologia Social. Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2010.
- FERLA, Luis Antonio Coelho. *Feios, sujos e malvados sob medida: do crime ao trabalho, a utopia médica do biodeterminismo em São Paulo (1920-1945)*. 379f. Tesis. Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas. Universidade de São Paulo, 2005.
- FIGARI, Carlos. *@s "Outr@s" Cariocas: interpolações, experiências e identidades homoeróticas no Rio de Janeiro. Séculos XVIII ao XX*. Rio de Janeiro: IUPERJ, 2007.
- FREIRE, Vanda Lima Bellard; PORTELLA, Angela Celis H. Mulheres pianistas e compositoras, em salões de teatros do Rio de Janeiro (1870-1930). *Cuadernos de música, artes visuales y artes escénicas*. Bogotá, v. 5, n. 2, p. 61-78, jul-dic., 2010. Disponible en: <http://bit.ly/2NDq2I9>. Acceso en: 4 nov. 2019.

- GAVILÁN, Enrique. *Otra historia del tiempo: la música y la redención del pasado*. Madrid: Akal, 2008.
- GREEN, James. *Além do carnaval: a homossexualidade masculina no Brasil do século XX*. Trad. Cristina Fino, Cássio Arantes Leite. São Paulo: Unesp, 2000.
- GUANABARINO, Oscar. Pelo mundo das artes. *Jornal do Commercio*. Rio de Janeiro. 10 nov. 1926, p. 2.
- GUTMAN, Guilherme. Criminologia, antropologia e medicina legal: um personagem central: Leonídio Ribeiro. *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicopatologia Fundamental*. São Paulo, vol. 13, n. 3, sep. 2010, p. 482-497. Disponible en: <http://bit.ly/2PN7yHS>. Acceso en: 4 nov. 2019.
- HILTON, Ronald (ed.). *Who's Who in Latin America: Brazil*. 3^{ed}. California: Stanford University Press, 1948.
- HUCHARD, Henri. Clinica medica: diagnostico precoce e principaes modos de começo de tuberculose pulmonar. *O Brazil-medico: Revista Semanal de Medicina e Cirurgia*. Rio de Janeiro. Año IV, N. 19, 22 may. 1891, p. 149-151
- IRAJÁ, Hernani de. *Psicoses do amor: estudos sobre as alterações do instinto sexual*. 3^{ed}. Rio de Janeiro: Pongetti, 1954.
- JAIVEN, Ana Lou. Feminismos. In: MORENO, Hortensia; ALCÁNTARA, Eva. *Conceptos clave en los estudios de género*. Vol. 1 México: Unam, 2016, p. 140-59.
- JORNAL DO COMMERCIO. Bibliographia: Archivos de Medicina Legal e Identificação: I Congresso Latinoamericano de Criminologia. Rio de Janeiro. 30 jul. 1939, p. 8
- _____. Hygiene moral: homosexualismo (A libertinagem no Rio de Janeiro). Rio de Janeiro. 28 abr. 1907, p. 3.
- KLEIN, Marcus. *Our Brazil will awake! The Acção Integralista Brasileira and the Failed Quest for a Fascist Order in the 1930s*. Cadernos do CEDLA, Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation, 2004.
- LAQUEUR, Thomas W. *Inventado o sexo: corpo e gênero dos gregos a Freud*. Trad. Vera Whately. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará, 2001.

- LIBLIK, Carmen Kummer. Subjetividades femininas na ópera oitocentista: notas sobre *Norma*, *La Traviata*, e *Carmen*. *Revista de Estudos Feministas*. Florianópolis, 26 (2): 2018, p. 1-17. Disponible en: <http://bit.ly/34xYM4T>. Acceso en: 4 nov. 2019.
- LIMA, Estácio Luiz Valente de. *A inversão dos sexos*. Rio de Janeiro: Guanabara, 1935.
- LOBATO, Monteiro. O Romance do Chupim. *Revista do Brasil*. São Paulo. N. 51, marzo 1920, p. 196-203.
- LUCA, Tania Regina de. *A Revista do Brasil: um diagnóstico para a (n)ação*. 1ª reimpressão. São Paulo: Editora da Unesp, 1999.
- MAGALDI, Cristina. *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro: European culture in a Tropical Milieu*. Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2004.
- MARAÑÓN y Posadillo, Gregorio. *A evolução da sexualidade e os estados intersexuais*. Trad. Fioravanti di Piero. Rio de Janeiro: Minerva, 1938.
- _____. Prefacio. In: RIBEIRO, Leonídio. *Homosexualismo e endocrinologia*. Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1938, p. 9-13.
- MOTT, Maria Lúcia de Barros. Biografia de uma revoltada: Ercília Nogueira Cobra. *Cad. Pesq.* São Paulo (58): agosto 1986, p. 89-104. Disponible en: <http://bit.ly/33qpBb7>. Acceso en: 4 nov. 2019.
- MOTTA, Rodrigo Patto Sá. *Em guarda contra o perigo vermelho: o anticomunismo no Brasil*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2002.
- PATI, Francisco. O crime de Oscar Wilde: São Paulo e seus homens de letras. *Folha da Noite*. São Paulo. 27 abr. 1923, p. 2.
- PRIORE, Mary del. *História do amor no Brasil*. 2ª ed. São Paulo: Contexto, 2006.
- RIBEIRO, Leonídio. *Homosexualismo e endocrinologia*. Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1938.
- _____. *O novo código penal e a medicina legal*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Jacintho, 1942.
- ROSENBLUM, Sandra. *Performance practices in classic piano music: their principles and applications*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- RUBIRA, Sergio. La biografía de Brummell: el fracaso necesario. In: DIÉGUEZ, Sofia (ed.). *Los lugares del arte*. Barcelona: Laertes, 2014, p. 323-358.

- SALGADO, Plinio. *A mulher no século XX*. 3^{ed}. São Paulo: Guanumby, 1949.
- _____. A poesia em São Paulo: breves apontamentos sobre os vivos. *Ilustração brasileira*. São Paulo. 25 dic. 1922, p. 154-156.
- SALGADO, Plinio et al. O actual momento literario [*Manifesto verdeamarelo*]. *Correio Paulistano*. São Paulo. may. 1929, p. 4, 17.
- SANDRONI, Carlos. *Feitiço decente: transformações do samba no Rio de Janeiro (1917-1933)*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2001.
- SCHWARCZ, Lilia Moritz. *O espetáculo das raças: cientistas, instituições e questão racial no Brasil (1870-1930)*. 12^a reimpresión. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993.
- SEIXAS, Aristeu. A poesia em S. Paulo: São Paulo e seus homens de letras. *Folha da Noite*. São Paulo. 3 may. 1923, p. 4-5.
- SILVA, André Luiz dos S. Apontamentos sobre a inserção do saber biotipológico na Escola de Educação Física do Exército. *Rev. Bras. Ciênc. Esporte*. Florianópolis, v. 36, n. 2, supl., abr-jun., 2014, p. 548-562. Disponible en: <http://bit.ly/2CeJDhe>. Acceso en: 4 nov. 2019.
- STEPAN, Nancy Leys. *A hora da eugenia: raça, gênero e nação na América Latina*. Trad. Paulo M. Gauchet. Rio de Janeiro: Fiocruz, 2005.
- TARDIEU, Ambroise. Pederastia y sodomía. In: PERATONER, Amancio (org.). *Los peligros del amor de la lujuria y del libertinaje en el hombre*. Madrid: Felipe Curriols, 1892, p. 169-242.
- TIN, Louis-Georges. *Diccionario Akal de la homofobia*. Madrid: Akal, 2012.
- TOFFANO, Jaci. *As pianistas dos anos 1920 e a geração Jet-Lag: o paradoxo feminista*. Brasília: Editora da Universidade de Brasília, 2007.
- VERGARA, Jorge. *Toda canção de liberdade vem do cárcere: homofobia, misoginia e racismo na recepção da obra de Mário de Andrade*. 2018. 223f. Tesis. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Música, Centro de Letras e Artes. Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2018.
- VERMES, Mónica. Música e músicos nos teatros do Rio de Janeiro (1890-1920). *Música Popular em Revista*. Campinas. Ano 3, v. 2, jan-jun., 2015, p. 7-31. Disponible en: <http://bit.ly/2NIFy5P>. Acceso en: 4 nov. 2019.

- _____. Por uma renovação do ambiente musical brasileiro: o relatório de Leopoldo Miguez sobre os Conservatórios europeus. *Revista eletrônica de música*. v. VIII, dez. 2004. Disponível em: <http://bit.ly/32h4nuO>. Acesso em: 4 nov. 2019.
- VIEIRA, Carlos Eduardo. José Ricardo Pires de Almeida entre duas vocações: a política e a ciência. *Cadernos da história da educação*. V. 14, n. 3 – sep-dic., 2015, p. 753-771. Disponível em: <http://bit.ly/34yFXhE>. Acesso em: 4 nov. 2019.